

12 April 1973

MEMORANDUM FOR: George A. Carver, Jr.

SUBJECT : Nam Bo Regional Committee-Hanoi Central  
Committee Meetings

1. From key captured documents and to a limited extent from the public record, the following known Party meetings were held in the 1954-59 showing that the . Party Central Committee made the decision to wage an armed struggle in South Vietnam:

- July 1954: 6th plenum of the Central Committee; reviewed the Geneva Agreements and endorsed the political struggle in the South.
- Late 1954: Nam Bo Regional Committee Resolution; mimicked the CC resolution.
- Early 1957: 2nd Nam Bo Regional Committee Conference; "the conference's resolution mentioned the problem of armed activities, but it considered the building of the armed forces as preparatory to a situation when war would break out again. The Regional Committee did not recognize that armed struggle was part of the revolutionary struggle in South Vietnam." (Taken from Nam Bo Regional Committee Report, 1954-1960.)
- August 1958: 3rd Nam Bo Regional Committee Conference; "the entire Regional Committee recognized that the possibility of changing the South Vietnamese administration had vanished, and it asserted that the South Vietnam revolution should take the 'relatively peaceful' line. The problem of armed struggle was raised more positively, but the concept of the struggle means was still indistinct." (Taken from Nam Bo Regional Committee report, 1954-1960.)

January 1959: 15th Central Committee plenum; "the correct line the Party advocates at present [1961] is the general uprising line to seize power and return it to the people, which is in accordance with the resolution adopted at the 15 Central conference." (Taken from COSVN Resolution 1, Oct. 1961)  
"The resolution of the 15th Central conference clearly delineated the general responsibility of the Vietnam revolution. . . and at the same time outlined the path which the South Vietnam revolution should take." (Taken from the "Crimp" document, 1963)

May 1959: Politburo Directive on countering the GVN's anti-Communist law 10/59.

"The Regional Committee grasped the line of struggle in South Vietnam more clearly when it received the Political Bureau's directive regarding the counter-measures against the fascist law 10/59 and especially when it received the resolution of the 15th Central conference." (Nam Bo Regional Committee report, 1954-60)

In mid-late 1959,"the Regional Committee received the resolution of the 15th Central conference and a number of other important directives of Central which set forth the principles and the direction of the South Vietnam revolution." (Nam Bo Regional Committee report, 1954-60)

#### Party Members in South Vietnam

July 1954:	60,000
1955-56:	15,000; the reduction is due to a selection out of members with non-proletarian backgrounds, and to the regroupment of several thousand Party members to North Vietnam.
mid-1959:	5,000
late 1961:	34,800
late 1962:	54,000
December 1963:	69,580



STAT